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COVER: Francisco de Goya, 1746-1828

Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz as a Muse (1804)

Oil on canvas, 49¾" x 81¾"

Purchased by the Museum Associates, Allan C. Balch Endowment Fund



FIG. 1. *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz*

## Goya's Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz

The Los Angeles County Museum recently acquired a painting by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828), and the Art Division is pleased to devote this issue of *The Bulletin* to the publication and illustration of the modern Spanish master's *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz*<sup>1</sup> (Illustrated on the cover and in Fig. 1.). It was purchased with income from The Balch Endowment Fund, an asset generously given to The Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch for the purpose of enriching the cultural resources of the community.

The acquisition of an important painting by an artist of Goya's stature is a significant step in the growth of the museum and in the increase of American art collections generally. The picture was practically unknown until recently; it has been exhibited publicly only once before, and that time in Europe; and it has been published adequately only once, in a Spanish scholarly journal. The following pages, therefore, will endeavor to set down all that is known about the picture, its discovery, history, subject, iconography, condition, technique, and date of execution.

### DISCOVERY OF THE PICTURE

Not long before his death, the late Duke of Alba was visiting the present Duke of Wellington in England, and together they went to the Wellington country estate called Stratfield-Saye House near Reading where Wellington was rehanging the pictures upon his accession to the title. There the Spanish nobleman spied

a long-neglected picture in a paltry frame which had always been hanging on an obscure part of a wall over a doorway behind an organ in the music room of the house. With an interest inevitable for a man who was a sensitive connoisseur and proprietor of one of Spain's greatest art collections, including some Goyas, the Duke of Alba examined the picture more intently. He recognized its close relationship to another picture well-known to him in the private collection of Don Félix Valdés, in Bilbao. Both pictures were portraits of a young lady in the same pose, but with some striking variations. For the sake of comparison, both paintings are illustrated here in Fig. 2A and 2B.

The Bilbao version of the Portrait was practically unknown during all of the 19th century and the early years of this century, partly because of an exaggerated sense of modesty. The family of the Conde de Pie de Concha, who owned the picture until the 1930's, referred to the subject as "la abuela en camisa" (grandmother in her slip), and the canvas was kept hidden away in the family bank-vault in Madrid instead of on a wall in the house. Yriarte knew of the picture in the nineteenth century, as did Lafond around 1900; but neither critic illustrated it, and both gave erroneous dimensions for it.<sup>2</sup> The first serious and comprehensive study of Goya's portraits was made by the Spanish scholar Aureliano de Beruete y Moret who gained access to the picture and published it in his famous book in 1916.<sup>3</sup> In 1928 the owner permitted the picture to be included in the great survey exhibition of Goya's work which was held at The Prado on the occasion of the centenary of the artist's death. About a decade later, at the end of the Spanish Civil War, arrangements were made for the painting to pass into the hands of the Nazi leaders in Germany, principally because of the unfortunate association of the shape of the decoration on the lyre with the German Swastika. However, through a series of happy circumstances, it went instead to the Spanish art collector in Bilbao, Don Félix Valdés. Ever since Beruete's publication of the picture, and its showing at The Prado exhibition, it has been



FIG. 2A. *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz*  
(Los Angeles County Museum Collection)

well-known, and has appeared in the literature on Goya, such as the monographs by August L. Mayer,<sup>4</sup> Valerian von Loga,<sup>5</sup> Charles Terrasse<sup>6</sup> and Desparmet Fitz-Gerald.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, *our* version of the portrait was hanging unknown at Stratfield-Saye House in England. Not one of the recognized Goya scholars was aware of its existence. In 1951 a few persons in the art market saw it, but they did not recognize it for what it was in its darkened condition and under a century and a half of dirt and discolored varnish. In 1952, through the good offices of the late Duke of Alba, it was sent to Madrid for careful examination in The Prado Museum, repository of the greatest Goya collection in the world and acknowledged center of information about the master. A cleaning had revealed the true beauty of the picture, and permitted unobstructed study of it, and it was pronounced an important original work by Goya. F. J. Sánchez-Cantón, Associate Director of The Prado and leading living authority on the master, published the painting for the first time late in 1952 in *The Archivo Español de Arte*.<sup>8</sup> In this

article Sánchez-Cantón described the picture as an "admirable example" of Goya's work comparable to the two versions of the *Maja* in The Prado's collection. The painting was then accorded a singular honor for a work of art not actually owned by The Spanish State; it was placed on special exhibition in The Prado in the midst of many of Goya's most famous masterpieces. Our painting was on exhibition there from February through August, 1953, in the Gallery dedicated to Goya. It was the good fortune of the present writer to be in Madrid at that time.

#### HISTORY OF THE PICTURE

When and how did the picture enter the Wellington collection? Sánchez-Cantón, after considering the various possibilities, concluded that it was captured by the First Duke of Wellington from Joseph Bonaparte at the Battle of Vitoria, and thus the title of Sánchez-Cantón's article mentioned above is *Un Cuadro de Goya en el Equipaje del Rey José*.<sup>9</sup> After considerable additional research, it appears that this conclusion is inevitably correct,



FIG. 2B. *Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz*  
(Collection of Don Félix Valdés, Bilbao)

and that our picture was one of the "props" on stage at a crucial moment in the drama of modern history.

At dawn on June 21, 1813, the allied armies of England, Spain and Portugal began to advance across the rugged landscape of northern Spain against the small but ancient Visigothic city of Vitoria. Inside this medieval fortress, and entrenched all around it, were about 65,000 French forces under the command of Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte. Leading the advancing army of about 70,000 men was General Arthur Wellesley, recently created an earl and marquis for his campaign of five years against Napoleon's army in the Iberian Peninsula. By nightfall of that same day the French army, minus 7,000 men and all its artillery consisting of 151 pieces, was in ragged retreat toward the passes leading through the Pyrenees to France. Although there was still nearly a year of costly fighting on the plains of southern France to be endured, the back of the Peninsular War had been broken, Napoleon's and King Joseph's dictatorial yoke upon Spain had been cast off,

and Arthur Wellesley was well on his way to becoming the First Duke of Wellington.

Just east of Vitoria, on the road to Pamplona along which King Joseph had made his hasty retreat, Wellington found the abandoned wagons and carriages containing all of his adversary's baggage. There was an enormous quantity of it, including a million sterling in money and most of the treasures that the luxury-loving Joseph had looted from the noble houses of Spain during his five years' occupation of the country. Among these spoils of war were over two-hundred paintings which Wellington dispatched by sea to London in care of his brother Henry Wellesley.

This hoard of pictures arrived in London some time prior to February 9, 1814, for on that date Lord Maryborough wrote Wellington that what had arrived was "... a most valuable collection of pictures . . . I send you a catalog of 165 of the most valuable." Benjamin West, President of The Royal Academy, was invited to see them and exclaimed, "The Correggio and Giulio Romano ought to be framed in diamonds, and it was worth fighting



a battle for them." As the result of all this Henry Wellesley informed his brother, who was still pursuing Joseph Bonaparte, that he thought there was a much greater collection of art involved here than either of them had realized at first.<sup>10</sup> In 1884 the Spanish writer Madrazo, in his *Viaje Artístico*, impugned Wellington for "appropriating" as spoils of war what rightfully should have stayed in the hands of the Englishman's ally, Spain.<sup>11</sup> However, on March 16, 1814, Wellington wrote his brother Henry, who had been appointed British Minister in Madrid, to arrange for the return of the pictures through the Spanish Government. Since the latter did not act upon this offer, Wellington wrote from Cambray on September 29, 1816, to Count Fernán Nuñez, the Spanish Minister in London, requesting an official clarification of his position. On November 29, 1816, Nuñez informed Wellington that the Spanish Government and King Ferdinand VII considered that he had acquired the art in a "just and honorable" manner and he should keep it.<sup>12</sup>

From the above-mentioned documents it is clear that there were something in excess of two hundred pictures in the captured collection, but the list sent by Henry Wellesley to his brother early in 1814 numbered only one hundred sixty-five. Almost all of these are by sixteenth and seventeenth century artists who were the most admired by the genteel "Grand Tour" taste prevalent in England early in the nineteenth century. Many of the attributions were wrong, and where wrong, leaned in the direction of this prevalent taste. Velazquez's now-famous *Water Carrier of Seville*, for example, was ascribed to Caravaggio.

The man who made the 1814 list was an art specialist hired by Henry Wellesley to look after the veritable museum which had suddenly appeared in London. His name was William Seguir, first Keeper of The National Gallery, and he was still retained as consultant for the Duke of Wellington's art collection at least as late as the 1830's.<sup>13</sup> A telling post-script penned at the end of the list of one hundred sixty-five pictures sent to Wellington in 1814 reads as follows: "In addition

to the above pictures, there are fifty or sixty more—some of which are good pictures by modern masters, worth preserving . . ." With an "old master" snobbism too typical of many epochs in history, the progressive Goya evidently was considered as a "modern master worth preserving" but not one of the one hundred-sixty-five "most valuable." There were *no* "modern," i.e., contemporary, pictures listed.

Our painting, therefore, was sent to the country house instead of being hung with the Correggios, Giulio Romanos and "Caravaggios" at Apsley House in London. It was cheaply framed, hung on an inaccessible wall, and practically forgotten for over a century. The reasons for this eclipse become apparent if one carefully reviews the facts concerning taste in England during the 19th century, and, in particular, the taste and attitudes of the First Duke of Wellington, all in relation to Goya as an artist generally and our picture specifically.

In addition to the lack of importance attached to "modern artists," mentioned above, we should not forget the element of false modesty that kept the Bilbao version of the portrait locked in hiding for generations. *Our* version of the portrait is considerably more revealing of the female body, and, the myriad differences between the English and Spanish points of view on this subject notwithstanding, the First Duke of Wellington's officially impeccable morality undoubtedly made such a picture a delicate problem.<sup>14-15</sup> As the taste of the Victorian Age evolved, such delicacy probably became, if anything, more acute. Meanwhile, an understanding and appreciation of Goya's excellence definitely did *not* develop, at least in England. Everyone is aware of the influence of Goya upon such Frenchmen as Daumier, Manet or Baudelaire; but in their own day these men were outcasts. In Victorian England there were few such rebels who discovered the expressive power of the Spanish master. In Waagen's two famous publications of 1854 and 1857, cataloguing the great art collections in Britain, in which over nine thousand two hundred pictures are



listed, only four small and minor genre pieces by Goya in the William Stirling collection are listed.<sup>16-17</sup> And even these were included probably because the Stirlings were becoming, uniquely, connoisseur-specialists in Spanish art. There were a number of important Goyas in Britain at the time Waagen was working on his lists, including, to mention only the most pertinent, two bust-length portraits of the Duke of Wellington, the huge Equestrian Portrait of him, and the red chalk Portrait of Wellington now in The British Museum. As late as 1891, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, in his volumes called *Annals of The Artists of Spain*, devotes seventeen pages to the German-born neo-classicist Anton Raphael Mengs who worked in Spain during the early years of Goya's career, whereas Goya himself is only spared a dozen pages. The same amount of space is given to the third-rate but prettier Antonio Ponz.<sup>18</sup> After praising the beauties of Goya's tapestry designs and certain of the more conventional portraits, and after deploring the "commonplace" and even "coarse" realism of most of Goya's work, Stirling-Maxwell asserts on page 1473 of his *Annals*: "Had Goya painted all the subjects which he treated as happily as those in which his chief strength lay, he would have been one of the first artists of his age."

The leading families and art collectors in Britain partook of this more traditional and conventional taste. In addition, there is repeated evidence that the First Duke of Wellington was something less than an hispanophile as the result of the five bitter years of the Peninsular campaign, and that there was an antagonism between himself and Goya. A reading of the *Despatches* covering the years 1808-1813 amply reveals Wellington's admiration for the bravery, intelligence and culture of the Spanish leaders with whom he fought, as well as his respect for the stubborn tenacity of the Spanish populace in their revolt against French oppression. Very early in the campaign he carefully gauged this latter factor, recognized its supreme importance, and made it a keystone of his strategy. This admiration, mingled with gratitude, was re-

turned by the Spaniards who assigned him large land holdings near Ciudad Rodrigo, invested him with a Spanish title to match his British Dukedom, and, in addition to insisting that he keep the works of art captured at Vitoria, gave him a number of additional trophies. Nevertheless, the *Despatches* reveal an ever-increasing antipathy to everything Spanish, abetted by the political confusion of the country, military disorganization, difficult terrain and lack of fertility in the land. Wellington was utterly exasperated by the lack of what he admired most, clean-cut British authority and efficiency. By the time he had reached high political importance in England, this attitude had fairly well crystallized, as expressed often in his correspondence. For example, in a letter of 1823 to the Prussian leader Lieven, after a lengthy analysis of Spain's position in international trade and exchange, he sums up his attitude by saying, ". . . and to speak the truth, there just is not the *stuff* with which to do anything in Spain."<sup>19</sup>

The political and military discord of Spain during the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century were manifestations of a larger dilemma that occasioned considerable intellectual and social confusion. A large proportion of the Spanish people, sick of the decadence in the court and government of Charles IV, and afraid of worse conditions under a Regency set up with the proposed abdication of Charles and the ascendance of the boy, Ferdinand VII, welcomed the French as a force that would lead them to the democratic ideals as set forth in the goals of the recent French Revolution. Goya was one of these, and, even while men of the different factions were killing each other, singly and in organized battle, he painted magnificently members of the Spanish court and nobility (some of whom remained adherents of King Joseph until 1812, and others who fought with the English), leaders of the invading French, the miserable Spanish populace, and the Duke of Wellington. Toward the end of the struggle, when French rapaciousness, duplicity and tyranny were matched only by his own countrymen's savagery, Goya seems to have aban-

doned all political or national faiths; he became more than ever the supremely objective artist whose subject matter was humanity in whatever grand or abject guise fate decreed he should encounter it.

This transcendent point of view of the truly great artist was beyond the comprehension of a practical soldier such as Wellington for whom things were either black or white. It may have been this basic difference in character that lay at the roots of an antagonism between the two great men and made it impossible for Wellington to fully appreciate the artistic quality achieved by Goya. Actually, we know little about their relationship. The red chalk portrait of the Englishman, already mentioned, has an inscription on the back which says that it was done at Alba de Tormes right after the Battle of Arapiles in July of 1812. Some scholars accept the authenticity of the inscription, while others doubt it. In any case, the drawing itself is by Goya and must have been done from life. They undoubtedly met at Madrid after the French departed the capital forever on August 10, 1812, and the English liberator entered the city while the entire populace gave him a tremendous ovation. It was probably at this time that the two bust-length portraits and the large equestrian portrait were done. The latter was exhibited in The Royal Academy of History, Madrid, from the 2nd to the 11th of September, 1812.<sup>20</sup>

There is a legend that during a sitting for one of the portraits the artist and the general had a discussion which ended by Goya being deeply offended. He is said to have grabbed two pistols and threatened Wellington with his life. The tale is probably an embroidery upon a simple basic lack of rapport or, at most, a feeling of hostility between the two men.<sup>21</sup> Whether as the result of personal differences, or because of the prevailing taste in England, as referred to above, neither the first Duke nor his immediate descendants recognized Goya's artistic merit. The best of the three oil portraits was given away by the first Duke to Louisa, wife of the seventh Duke of Leeds, because she wanted a striking portrait

of Napoleon's conqueror. The other bust-length version was in the collection of the Spanish General Alava who fought with Wellington against the French; he gave it to the second Duke of Wellington, and shortly thereafter it was dispensed with and finally entered an American private collection. The equestrian portrait was relegated to the country house, and the chalk drawing was also given away. Instead of designating one of the Goyas as the official family portrait, the Duke chose a late, bland Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The above facts make it understandable how our *Portrait of The Marquesa de Santa Cruz* could be cast in the shade for so long. In addition, they make it fairly certain that our picture would not have been purchased or otherwise procured except under the conditions coincident with such an event as the Battle of Vitoria. The Intendente of Segovia presented the Duke with twelve pictures in 1812, only two of which have been identified.<sup>22</sup> However, it is highly unlikely that such a Spanish dignitary would even *have* a picture, the modesty of which was still in question a century later, let alone give it to a foreign leader like Wellington. Could it have been a gift from either the young Marquesa herself or her family? If this were the case, considering the piquancy of the style and the iconography, the late Duke of Alba's conjectures about a romantic liaison between the Marquesa and Wellington might be close to the truth. But there is no known documentary support of this, and a careful chronological comparison of the very frequent and detailed movements of Wellington during his five years campaigning in the Peninsula, as taken from his *Despatches*, with the probable movements and residences of the Marquesa in Sevilla and other places in southern Spain during this period makes such a development appear unlikely. The only feasible place and period would have been Madrid after the French departed in August, 1812, until the Battle of Vitoria in June of 1813, during which time Wellington did visit the capital a number of times. In the absence of any tangible negative proof, such a relationship may be entertained

always as a possibility, but on the basis of what is known to date, it must be considered merely a slim hypothesis.<sup>23</sup>

After the Battle of Toulouse, which ended the war, Wellington was appointed British Ambassador at Paris. He was there again after Waterloo, and in 1817 and 1818 he bought several paintings.<sup>24</sup> The identity of these has not been established, but considering his attitudes and taste, it is far from likely that one of them could have been our picture. From existing bills of sale, contracts, commissions, etc., identified by Evelyn Wellington in the Apsley House *Catalog* of 1901, the rest of the acquisitions to the collection came all from artists working in England, such as John Hayter, Edwin Landseer, David Wilkie, Thomas Lawrence, Richard Cosway, H. B. Chalon, A. Mayer, etc.

There is a humorous anecdote which further indicates how certain pictures could remain in obscurity for such a prolonged period.<sup>25</sup> After the First Duke's death in 1852 three attempts were made to catalog the entire collection properly, and sometime after 1857 the paintings were all numbered and labelled on the frames; but most of the information and attributions were faulty. The Second Duke, after being told frequently that visiting art experts suggested different attributions and information, had all the numbers and labels removed, saying, "Hang it, let them choose for themselves." This produced utter chaos for a long time.

#### THE SUBJECT

Doña Joaquina María del Pilar Téllez-Girón y Alfonso Pimentel, La Marquesa de Santa Cruz, was born the second daughter of the Ninth Duke and Duchess of Osuna on September 21, 1784. She lived until November 21, 1851. Most of her life was spent in and around Madrid where, in her youth, she was considered one of the most celebrated beauties of noble society at the Spanish capital. Endowed with a vivacious spirit and a very engaging personality, she was always sought as a companion by persons of intelligence who enjoyed life. She was fond of lively par-

ties and was one of the ardent "aficionadas" of the bullfight in an age when this was a sign of considerable liberalness, especially for a lady so highly born.

Goya was an intimate of her family, doing work for them over a period of a whole generation. One of the early pictures from this association is the beautiful and charming *Group Portrait of the Ninth Duke of Osuna With His Family*, painted in 1787, now in The Prado (Fig. 3.).<sup>26</sup> The Duke is shown standing behind his seated wife and their four eldest children. He was a man of great refinement, intellectual attainment, and of admirably liberal and democratic ideals. In 1788, the year after the family portrait was made by Goya, the brilliant young philosopher-theologian, Don Diego Clemencín, came to Madrid to work on his tracts on Agricola, Claudius the Annalist, and Tacitus; and Osuna engaged him as private tutor for his children. In a different field of intellectual endeavor, Carlos Marinelli was retained for many years as teacher of music in the Osuna household; and, through him and agents abroad, the Duke and Duchess imported and even commissioned musical scores by the leading composers of the time in Vienna and Paris. In 1800 the Duke was made Spanish Ambassador to Paris, an appointment of lamentably short duration because of the prevailing political confusion in both countries. Nevertheless, the entire Osuna family was taken to the French capital where they had an opportunity to broaden their outlook.

A cogent description of the Duke and Duchess of Osuna is given by the Englishwoman, Elizabeth Lady Holland, who spent many years traveling in Spain as a guest of the most noble families. In an entry to her diary in 1804, she begins by defining the Duchess as "... an heiress in her own right ... the most distinguished woman in Madrid from her talents, worth and taste. She has acquired a relish for French luxuries without diminishing her national magnificence and hospitality. She is very lively, and her natural wit covers her total want of refinement and acquirement. Her figure is very light and



FIG. 3. *The Ninth Duke of Osuna with His Family*  
(The Prado, Madrid)

airy. She was formerly the great rival of the celebrated Duchess of Alba in profligacy and confusion. . . . She is rather imperious in her family. Her revenues are even greater than the Duke of Osuna's, who is a very tolerably sensible man and of considerable knowledge. He has great projects of ambition, and acquired at the beginning of the French Revolution the surname of being another Orléans. He obtained permission during his favor at court to import from foreign countries what books he chose for his own library, notwithstanding they were prohibited by the Inquisition, and he took advantage of this to collect a very good and extensive library, chiefly of classics, history, voyages, and books of science, which he intended for the use of the public; but this intention was not permitted by the government."<sup>27</sup> In short, Osuna was inspired by that same combination of classical education, social liberty and curiosity about the natural world that fired the minds of such contemporaries as Thomas Jefferson.

Osuna had a great admiration for, and personal friendship with, Goya who enjoyed both the personal attachment to one of the greatest aristocratic families in Spain and the atmosphere of intellectual freedom encouraged there. As the Spanish scholar Joaquín Ezquerro del Bayo has written, "Goya, cordially admitted to the house, almost monopolized the paintings with which the rooms were decorated as well as the portraits of both parents and children. . . ."<sup>28</sup> He not only did decorations and portraits for the Palace of Benavente in Madrid, but many works for the palace in the country called La Alameda. From a set of seven pictures he did for the latter place, and for which the Duke paid him 22,000 reales, came the famous *Romería de San Isidro*, one of the most beautiful landscapes in the history of art and, painted in 1788, a true harbinger of open air impressionism.

The children in the Osuna family portrait are, from left to right: Don Francisco de Borja, tenth Duke; Don Pedro de Alcántara, Principe de Anglona, who was trained for the military life and, in 1809, was elevated to

Field Marshal of the Spanish troops at the important Battle of Talavera, one of the earliest engagements in which General Arthur Wellesley was in command of the British troops; at the extreme right is Doña Josefa Manuela, later Marquesa de Camarasa; and in the center holding to her mother's knee is Doña Joaquina María del Pilar, later Marquesa de Santa Cruz.

On June 11, 1801, at the age of seventeen, the subject of our picture married the handsome young Don José Gabriel de Silva-Bazán y Waldstein, eldest son of the Marqués de Santa Cruz. The older Marqués, father-in-law of our subject, performed a service in the history of art which deserves our remembrance and gratitude. It was he who prevailed upon the liberal but timid King Charles III to send the magnificent paintings of nudes in the Royal collections by Titian and other Renaissance artists to The Royal Academy of San Fernando instead of burning them as the monarch, under pressure, had previously decided to do. Today these pictures, which so narrowly escaped destruction, are among the world-famous attractions of the Prado.

Our subject's mother-in-law was the remarkable Mariana Waldstein, scion of the influential Viennese family, who married the elder Marqués de Santa Cruz in the Austrian capital in 1781. Before her death in 1808, and therefore before the commencement of the all-out war for Spanish independence from the French, she fell strongly under the sway of Lucien Bonaparte, French Ambassador in Madrid. She went with him to Paris where she met and consorted with Napoleon himself, and where the theft and recovery of her jewelry became a "cause célèbre."

Mariana Waldstein's son, the younger Marqués de Santa Cruz, and husband of our subject, was among the early resistance leaders against the French. He was arrested by King Joseph's administration and sent to the Castle of Fenestrelle in the Alps, where he spent the entire period of the Peninsular War imprisoned. His wife, as mentioned already, spent the war years in various places in southern Spain. Lord and Lady Holland





FIG. 4. *Detail, right hand*

were there also, and there are a number of entries in the Englishwoman's diary that refer to the young Spanish lady. One of them, dated at Seville, February 4, 1809, when the Marquesa had not yet reached her twenty-fifth birthday, reads as follows: "Mme. Santa Cruz called in the evening. She is in great beauty, having preserved her looks much unimpaired!"<sup>29</sup>

Some earlier entries in the same diary give us further insight to the character of our subject, and tell us something about the life she led in the happier days at Madrid before the French invasion. On October 24, 1803, the Duchess of Berwick gave a brilliant party at which "The two prettiest women were the Marquesa de Sta. C., Osuna's daughter, and the eldest daughter of Mde. Taruco." In 1804 Lady Holland included "Mde. Santa Cruz"

in the same descriptive list of people in high social circles in Madrid that we have already used to help describe her parents: "Mde. Santa Cruz, 2nd daughter. She is very beautiful; a most engaging, captivating smile when she speaks. I have a portrait of her in the Spanish costume, full length, in miniature; she sat for it 32 times! Slow as it may appear, the artist was a Frenchman with whom I had a difference about the price, he having charged exorbitantly. As it was, I paid four times its value for the picture, 120 pounds." Again, in 1803, speaking of the last bullfight of the season: "The matadors are the toreros admired by the ladies; the Duchesses of Osuna and Alba formerly were the rivals for Pedro Romero (portrayed by Goya before 1800). This evening when Rocca fought, the Marquesa de Santiago withdrew to the back



FIG. 5. Detail, signature

of her balcone (sic.) not to see him in danger. The Santa Cruz is suspected of beginning to follow her mother in her tastes, as she goes in the gradas where the aficionados sit within reach of the toreros!!!"

#### ICONOGRAPHY

In the article of 1952 in the *Archivo Español de Arte*, where our picture was published for the first time, F. J. Sánchez-Cantón refers to the Bilbao version as portraying the sitter in the guise of "the reclining figure of Euterpe," Muse of Lyric Poetry.<sup>30</sup> He nowhere asserts that our version personifies the same classical figure, but he does not put forth any other interpretation. He therefore evidently assumes that the Marquesa represents the same personage in both versions. Ezquerro del Bayo, writing about the Bilbao version before ours

was known, opined that it shows the subject ". . . in the manner of Euterpe."<sup>31</sup> August Mayer said, "She is represented as a kind of female Apollo. . . ."<sup>32</sup> No other scholar mentions a particular classical personification.

According to the researches of both Beruete and Ezquerro del Bayo, ". . . the fashion of adorning their heads with flowers . . . became the rage, and passed from ladies of the aristocracy to the middle class" during the early, classic-conscious years of the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> A number of Goya's other portraits about this time illustrate this trend in fashion, including the *Portrait of Doña María Valdés* and the *Portrait of The Condesa de Haro*, our subject's sister-in-law. Even though Ezquerro del Bayo asserts that the Marquesa is portrayed "in the manner of Euterpe," he goes on to point out that the



dress is one which "was used for social balls or important evening functions."<sup>34</sup> The classical simplicity of this attire, its whiteness, the manner in which it leaves much of the bosom bare and reveals the body beneath, all reflect the universal impact of the prevailing Empire style in dress emanating from France. The idealized "classicism" of this style is augmented by the reclining posture of the sitter and the use of the vaguely Empire type couch, or *canapé*. Mayer felt the French relationship so strongly that he called the Bilbao version the Spanish "Madame Récamier,"<sup>35</sup> referring to the famed portrait of that lady by Jacques Louis David done in 1800 and now in The Louvre.

Even though so many of the represented elements in the Marquesa's portrait can be accounted for in terms of the generally prevailing fashion, the presence of the lyre and grapevine in both versions demands a more precise allegorical identification. It would be inconsistent for a person so carefully educated in the classics, as all members of the Osuna family were, to have such an allusive portrait painted without bearing consciously in mind its symbolic meaning. One must not forget also that Goya was deeply aware of the tradition of classical allegory in portraiture as imparted to him through Anton Raphael Mengs and his own brother-in-law, the painter Francisco Bayeu. One of the self-portraits of the latter, with whom Goya had a prolonged falling out over professional matters, may contain a more potent bit of symbolism than is usually noticed, for the picture Bayeu is working on in his portrait represents the legendary "art battle" between the god Apollo and the satyr Marsyas.

In order to appreciate the indigenous sincerity of the classicistic movement in Spain, all one needs is a slight familiarity with the work of a man like Jovellanos (1744-1811). Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, formed completely in the humanist tradition, was a leading liberal statesman, a judge, member of the Council of Military Orders, Minister of Grace and Justice under Godoy, and an influential author whose style was distinguished by clas-

sical discipline and an elegance modelled upon that of Cicero. A serious student of Gothic art and architecture in Spanish cathedrals, he wrote in order to popularize the fine arts. He was a good friend of Goya as early as 1784, for on October 11th of that year he wrote the artist to express his admiration for two pictures recently done and his affection for the painter. Goya's life-size portrait of Jovellanos, executed about 1798, shows the scholar, who was at that time Minister of Justice, seated at a paper-strewn desk in his study with his head held in a pensive pose by his left arm, which is supported in turn by the desk. On the wall behind the desk is a bas-relief figure of Athene, or Minerva, Goddess of Wisdom, whose right arm is extended in such a way that she points directly at the left temple of Jovellanos' head.

Unfortunately, we cannot arrive so quickly at such a *specific* symbolic meaning in the representation of the Marquesa as a classical figure, although there undoubtedly is one. Her identity as Euterpe, the Muse of Lyric Song, or "she that gladdens," is confuted by the fact that the time-honored instrumental attribute of this muse is the flute or the double flute; sometimes the mask of comedy. Also, her headdress is always a garland of various flowers in bloom to symbolize the joyful enthusiasm that the ancients believed was engendered by the "delightful" music of the flute, which was invented by Athene.<sup>36</sup> In both versions of our portrait the Marquesa holds a lyre, and her head is adorned by a crown of grape leaves and grapes. There are only two muses who habitually hold a lyre as one of their attributes. One is Terpsichore, Muse of the Dance, who certainly would not be represented reclining. The other is Erato, Muse of Erotic Poetry, "the lovely one." Since her special province is the love song, she wears in her hair the two flowers sacred to Venus, myrtle and the red rose; but neither of these can be found in the Marquesa's portraits. And none of the muses is supposed to wear a crown of grape. However, any one of the muses is apt to hold a lyre in order to accomplish the narrative ends of whatever piece of

classical literature she appears in, and change her adornment as well. For example, in Book V of Ovid's "Metamorphoses" Calliope was elected to represent the muses in their contest with the daughters of Pierus, all nine of whom were transformed to magpies for their brashness and defeat. Calliope, Muse of Epic Poetry, whose canonical attributes are writing instruments in her hands and laurel in her hair, "... rose to her feet, an ivy wreath binding her flowing locks, and ran her thumb over the plaintive strings . . . accompanying herself with sweeping chords." Some such passage combining the lyre and vine as attributes for a female goddess or personage, may have been among the classics in the Osuna library and have caught the fancy of the young Marquesa.

It is even more reasonable to assume that she represents simply "Music." In the ancient Greek from which this word derives, it was used as a term that embraced all the arts of the nine muses. It included the whole culture of the mind as distinguished from that of the body, "gymnastic," and comprehended reading and writing, the sciences of mathematics and astronomy, all literature, as well as the art of music as we differentiate it today. In practice, the early ancients considered music as we think of it in our restricted sense, not as a separate art, but as an *accompaniment* to poetry. The classical philosophers valued it in the general sense and thought of it as including everything that belonged to a higher intellectual and aesthetic education. For example, we find the following in Plato's "Republic": "when you speak of music, do you rank literature under music or not?" "I do!" The assigning of different functions to individual muses, and, therefore, assigning to them specific and different attributes, is late and erratic, as indicated in the passage from Ovid quoted above. Homer, more often than not, invokes *The Muse*, as in the first line of "The Odyssey": "Tell me, O Muse . . ." In Book VIII, 482, Ulysses says to the Phaeacian court poet, "... bards are honored and respected throughout the world, for the Muse teaches them their songs and loves them. De-

modocus, there is no one in the world whom I admire more than I do you. You must have studied under the Muse, Jove's daughter, and under Apollo . . ." (Apollo was the God of Music, leader of the Muses, "Musagetes," and his most common attribute was the lyre.) When Homer *does* speak of the Muses, in the plural, he does not name them or give them special provinces or attributes.

But what of the grape leaves and grapes in the Marquesa's hair? Dionysus, or Bacchus, God of Wine, is nearly always described and depicted with grapes and the vine around his head, as are the followers in his train, satyrs, satyresses, fauns and nymphs who also often carry the thyrsi of interwoven grapevine. These latter personages frequently carry musical instruments as well, but hardly ever the lyre, since that is the instrument which symbolized a higher intellectual and aesthetic sphere. However, there was always a close connection between music in the broad classical sense and wine. It was considered as inspiring men to music and poetry. It is to the worship of Dionysus that drama owes its birth and development, and the relationship between the Wine God and Apollo and the Muses, therefore, has always been close. Cesare Ripa, who wrote the definitive late Renaissance encyclopaedia of iconology, reflects this tradition as it survived in the seventeenth century.<sup>37</sup> In no single one of his five different descriptions of "Musica" does Ripa define one which fits the manner in which The Marquesa is represented, but excerpts from his *various* descriptions suggest our picture. "Musica" is a "... woman who holds the lyre of Apollo . . ." and who, "... being seated, demonstrates that music induces a state of singular repose from the immanence of labor." In one personification Ripa includes a large vessel of wine, saying: "The wine is included because music was invented to keep mankind happy, as was wine; and also because fine and delicate wine gives melody to the voice, and on that account many of the ancient poets sought the company of Bacchus."

Another personification in Ripa is a possibility: "Poema Lirico," or "Lyric Poetry,"

as conceived by the Renaissance apart from the classical muse, Euterpe, under whose surveillance this type of poetry fell. She is described as a "young woman with the lyre in her left hand . . ." but none of the other attributes appear in our picture, and nothing is said of a garland of grapes.

Considering the relatively greater consistency with which Euterpe appears in antique and Renaissance literature and art with her canonical attributes of the flute and a garland of various flowers, a consistency to which Ripa adheres, and given the fact that *neither* of these attributes is present in the portraits of the Marquesa, it is necessary to rule out the personification of Euterpe in favor of a more logical possibility. Erato, Muse of The Poetry of Love, is described in Ripa as a beautiful young woman who, while reclining, holds a lyre in her left hand and has a crown of myrtle and roses on her head. This description fits our picture well except for the myrtle and roses which, as mentioned before, were sacred to Venus, Goddess of Love. However, there are many reasons why the foliage and fruit of wine could be used as an attribute for Erato, especially when the *other* attributes are included, and especially at about the time when our picture was painted.

There are innumerable portraits in existence from the middle of the eighteenth century down through the early years of the nineteenth century by such artists as Romney, Reynolds, Nattier, Natoire, Proudhon and Angelica Kauffmann which present the sitter as a muse. More often than not considerable license has been taken with the canonical attributes for the muse whose identity we *know* through literary documentation of the time. This is particularly true of eighteenth century English painting, and it is interesting to recall here that in both of the Osuna palaces down to the time of King Joseph's looting, there were quite a few pictures of this school, although their identity has never been established.

In addition to this general tendency of the art of the time, we must not forget the close relationship that always existed in the ancient

and Renaissance mind between the Muses and Bacchus, an element that has already been discussed here. The nurses and protectresses that tended him in his youth and old age are not only Maenads but also the Muses,<sup>38</sup> for, as stated by Ripa, it is from him that the beauty and magic of their song comes. As the charming, anonymous, seventh or sixth century B.C. *Hymn to Bacchus* ends: "No mortal shall raise sweet song, save he remember to yield thee to thy praise."

As for the literary sources from which the young Marquesa and Goya could have taken their personification, we are left in a dilemma occasioned by an overabundance of possibilities on one hand and a complete lacuna on the other hand. The Osuna library contained nearly all of the classical sources and the later Renaissance interpreters of them. Goya's library, as indicated in the meticulous inventory of his belongings, was extensive, but the surviving document, although specific as to all manner of house furnishings, simply says that there were ". . . several hundreds of books . . ."<sup>39</sup>

One other historical fact has a bearing upon our understanding of the classical inferences in the portrait. In the hey-day of social competition between The Duchesses of Alba and Osuna, it became the fashion, under the influence of such intellectual leaders as Jean Jacques Rousseau and Bernardin de St. Pierre, for the noble families of Spain to acquire "fincas," or country houses, and to convert them into "classical" monuments. In 1781, for example, The Duque de Arcos bought the ancient home of The Marqués de Eliche and restored it completely in the classical style. The unfortunate Arcos died in 1784 and left it as a country palace outside Madrid to his stepdaughter, the Duchess of Alba. In 1783 the Osunas acquired La Alameda, eight kilometers from Madrid, which had served much earlier as a prison for the third Duke of Osuna. By 1787 they had converted it into a veritable second palace in the classical taste which they whimsically called "El Capricho." Between 1787 and 1792 they built two small, round "temples" ("tem-

pletes") on the beautifully landscaped grounds. One was so constructed that glass beehives fitted between the columns in order that the family and visitors could observe the fascinating work of the insects in their transparent repositories; and at the entrance was a statue of *Venus*, Goddess of Love, by the Aragonese sculptor, Juan Adám.<sup>40</sup> The other "templete" had standing in the center of it the figure of *Bacchus*.

In order to arrive at a specific interpretation of the iconography and, therefore, the symbolic meaning of our picture, one must take all the personal, social, historical and stylistic elements into account and conclude that the Marquesa represents Erato, the Muse of Love Poetry. First, it is important to remember that the beautiful girl shown reclining on a broad couch was married to a handsome young nobleman not too long before the picture was painted. If the inscription on the Bilbao version is correct in proclaiming the year 1805 as its date of execution, and if Sánchez-Cantón, the most trusted authority on Goya, is correct in his assertion that our version was painted perhaps a couple of years earlier, it is logical to conclude that it was conceived as a commemorative marriage picture. As such, the most reasonable interpretation of the classical symbolism is that the figure represents Erato, Muse of The Love Song. This by itself would be enough to account for the revealing sensuousness of the pose and attire. However, even the ardent enthusiasm for all things classical in the society of the time seldom permitted such a daring statement by a leading artist like Goya, and even less by a prominent aristocrat such as the Marquesa de Santa Cruz. But it was a period of revolt, and the spirit of rebelliousness which waited in the Spanish people in general until it broke out against the French foreigner, asserted itself much earlier in the intellectual and social insurgence of some of the wealthy aristocrats against the degenerate, moralistic and hypocritical reactionism of the Court and its supporters. Goya's *Caprichos*, which went into the library of the Duke of Osuna, were a part of this, as were the political texts of Jovel-

lanos, and the Osuna library itself. So was the successful effort of the elder Marqués de Santa Cruz to save the opulent nudes of Titian from the inquisitorial flames. As suggested already by Sánchez-Cantón, it may have been the strong feeling of family pride and righteousness concerning this latter cause that emboldened the younger Marquesa to have herself portrayed in what the majority of her contemporary countrymen must have considered a pagan and libertine guise.

The notoriously liberal social behaviour of the Duchess of Alba was also a part of this insurgence against the medievalism of the old moral regime. Shortly before Goya painted the Marquesa de Santa Cruz, the Duchess of Alba had died, in 1802. The Marquesa's own mother, Duchess of Osuna, who had contended so brilliantly with Alba for the female crown of leadership in this liberal avant-garde, was already over fifty years old, and she was leaving the social duelling more and more to her beautiful daughters. Certainly, according to Lady Holland's diary, La Santa Cruz was "beginning to follow her mother in her tastes." In so doing she was also following the Duchess of Alba. There is no actual proof that the two *Majas* by Goya in The Prado, one version nude, the other clothed, are portraits of Alba, but the character of the Duchess was colorful enough, and her physical beauty such, to convince the majority of people that these two daring variations of the same figure represent her. It is inconceivable that Goya did not bear them in mind when working on the two portraits of the Marquesa. The chances are that the Marquesa knew them and thought of them from *her* point of view as well. And her point of view was shaped by the fact that she was young, beautiful, recently married and committed by birth and circumstances to asserting herself individually as one of the foremost in a colorful yet intricate aristocratic world where art, daily dress, the bullfight, the theater and other such adornments to life provided a woman with the means for this assertiveness. In addition, by education and habitual surroundings, she was steeped in poetry, music

and architecture as seen through the eyes of a society at its peak of enthusiasm for all things classical.

If we add all the elements up, it is logical to conclude not only that the Marquesa personifies Erato, but that the very choice of this classical symbol and the entire manner in which the subject is conceived and represented is a significant and meaningful artistic statement in relation to the person whose portrait we have before us, and in relation to the motivating forces of the society in which she lived.

#### TECHNIQUE, CONDITION, DATE AND STYLE

The support upon which Goya painted the Marquesa's portrait is an unbleached linen canvas in plain weave, with an average of thirty-six weft and thirty-six warp threads to the inch. This is the type of support used by the Spanish artist in most of his work, both before and after 1800. The size of the canvas is forty-nine and one-half inches in height by eighty-one and three-quarters inches in length, dimensions which are about average for most of the well-known, full-length portraits by Goya. A great many of them approximate these dimensions, and twenty can be found to measure so closely that Goya must have considered this as a kind of standard size for full-length portraiture.<sup>41</sup>

At the time the painting was made, canvas was not woven in bolts wide enough so that the width of the bolt would stretch the full width of this size picture. Two lengths had to be cut from the bolt, therefore, and joined together. The join in our picture is clearly visible, as it causes a slight ridge and, at certain points, a fissure in the paint structure running from top to bottom of the picture just to the right of center. In many of the full-length, vertical portraits of King Charles IV, the Queen and others of The Royal Family, a length of canvas from the bolt was cut off and run the *long* direction of the picture; and since the bolt was not wide enough, the full width of the picture had to be made up by joining a very narrow but long strip to the

first piece off the bolt. In these portraits, then, the join runs longitudinally and fairly close to one edge. The majority of such joins, especially after 1800, run laterally, as in our picture, and in such examples as the *Marquesa de la Solana* of 1801, the *Marqués de San Adrian* of 1804, and the *Doña María Gabriela Palafox y Portocarrero* of 1805. Since few of Goya's works of this type have been relined, one can study the backs of the canvases and admire the fine craftsmanship with which the joins have been accomplished by a remarkably secure and durable whip-stitch. Also, the selvage of the original bolt of canvas always remains at one edge (in the case of our picture over the stretcher at the left side), permitting a careful analysis of the textile in relation to fabrics of the time and place, and making it possible to verify the fabric as that used by Goya.

The stretched canvas seems to have been prepared with an organic glue size with no colorant in it. Over this, in a fairly rich mixture that effects nearly complete coverage, but thinly applied, is an oil paint ground-tone of a warm, light-reddish brown. The tonality of this in the Ostwald color system is closely equivalent to hue "5,1e" which is given the descriptive color name of "Rust tan."<sup>42</sup> By using the easily transportable color chip samples from the Ostwald-Container Corporation *Manual*, it has been possible to compare this color directly with the ground-tone in other works by Goya which are located far apart, and to minimize the errors in comparing colors when there is a time interval involved, different illumination and different surroundings. This "Rust tan" ground-tone is the color Goya liked to paint upon during the last years of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th century, and we find it in his large *Portrait of The Royal Family*, the *Palafox Portocarrero* portrait, the *Portrait of the Duke of Alba*, both *Majas* and the *Doña Tadea Enriquez* portrait, among those in The Prado.<sup>43</sup>

Goya evidently laid in the general outlines of his composition and the figure he was to represent with a very sketchy, free and incom-





FIG. 6. *Detail, torso and head*

plete line drawing upon the dry ground-tone. Portions of this basic drawing can be seen showing through the thinner areas of paint on a couple of the folds of cloth that fall over the near edge of the couch and at one or two places on the contours of the arms and neck. The nature of the medium that was used to make this drawing is not surely ascertainable; and the lines are too faint to show in reproduction. However, under magnification, they appear to be either of metallic lead pencil or graphite pencil.

With this as a beginning Goya proceeded to build up the solid form of his subject and composition with an exhilarating variety and change of pace in performance with the brush that can only be permitted by a master's assurance. The deep, red-brown background is laid on almost as a wash which, by its translucence, permits the lighter ground-tone to shine through in an irregular way, thereby establishing a strong sense of atmospheric depth for the broad couch and figure to inhabit. The covering of the couch, consisting simply of three registers of the same brick red, shadow, plane of light and highlight, is applied with an astounding boldness and fluidity. It is the very simplicity of this color relationship that, once surely established as right, enables the artist to present to our eye such a display of virtuoso brush strokes without their becoming too attractive just as brush strokes; the folds and involutions of the cloth retain their convincing shapes, and the very short but sure sense of distance that Goya establishes between our eye and that broad stretch of red is not lost on a single square inch of it. The bare flesh of the girl is given a velvety smoothness and pearly pink translucency that enhances the sensuousness of her appeal (Fig. 6.); and the modulation of this skin tone between the forward right foot and the left foot that extends only a few inches farther back into the pictorial depth is a marvel of subtle tonal adjustment in the service of representation (Fig. 1.). At the top of the décolleté dress and on the Bacchic crown (Fig. 7.), Goya bursts forth in a fiery display of paint handling that becomes more and more typical of his

technique as the anguished years of lonely deafness, war and exile increased. The gossamer covering of the breasts, and the shoulder straps, are painted without the slightest traditional or academic preconception of technique or form; they are pure music in terms of paint. The virile application of the grape leaves with the palette knife and thick impasto endows the head with a sculptural solidity of form essential to maintaining the portrait character of the whole picture. The most bewitching passages of paint handling and subtle tonal relationships occur in the thinly clinging dress where each seemingly vagrant fold helps to define the body's seductive form. (Fig. 8.). The shimmering highlights are pure white, applied with a freedom and dash that *directly* reflects in technique the thinking and feeling of an original and daring artist. The half-lights and shadows in this fabric are put on much more thinly, and with varying degrees of admixed blue and bluish green. The glowing ground-tone shines through partially, providing an impressionist-like visual interplay between warm and cool that gives the surface a luminous, breathing vibrancy as well as further convincing us of the reality of palpable flesh beneath its thin veil. A near compendium of this brilliant, subtle and sure range of technical mastery occurs in the detail of the hand holding a kerchief. (Fig. 4.).

The condition of the picture is remarkably good, perhaps mainly because of the direct simplicity, homogeneity and thinness of the paint structure, qualities that are not only apparent to careful visual examination but are confirmed by the record of infra-red penetration. There is a very slight, sparsely-distributed crackle pattern that occurs mostly where the paint structure is relatively thicker. In the background, couch, flesh and dress the "grain" of the woven canvas affects the paint's surface topography in many places. There are two areas of old damage to the paint structure; one is about six inches long at the very bottom of the canvas directly beneath the Marquesa's feet, and the other is an irregularly shaped, probably abraded, area covering



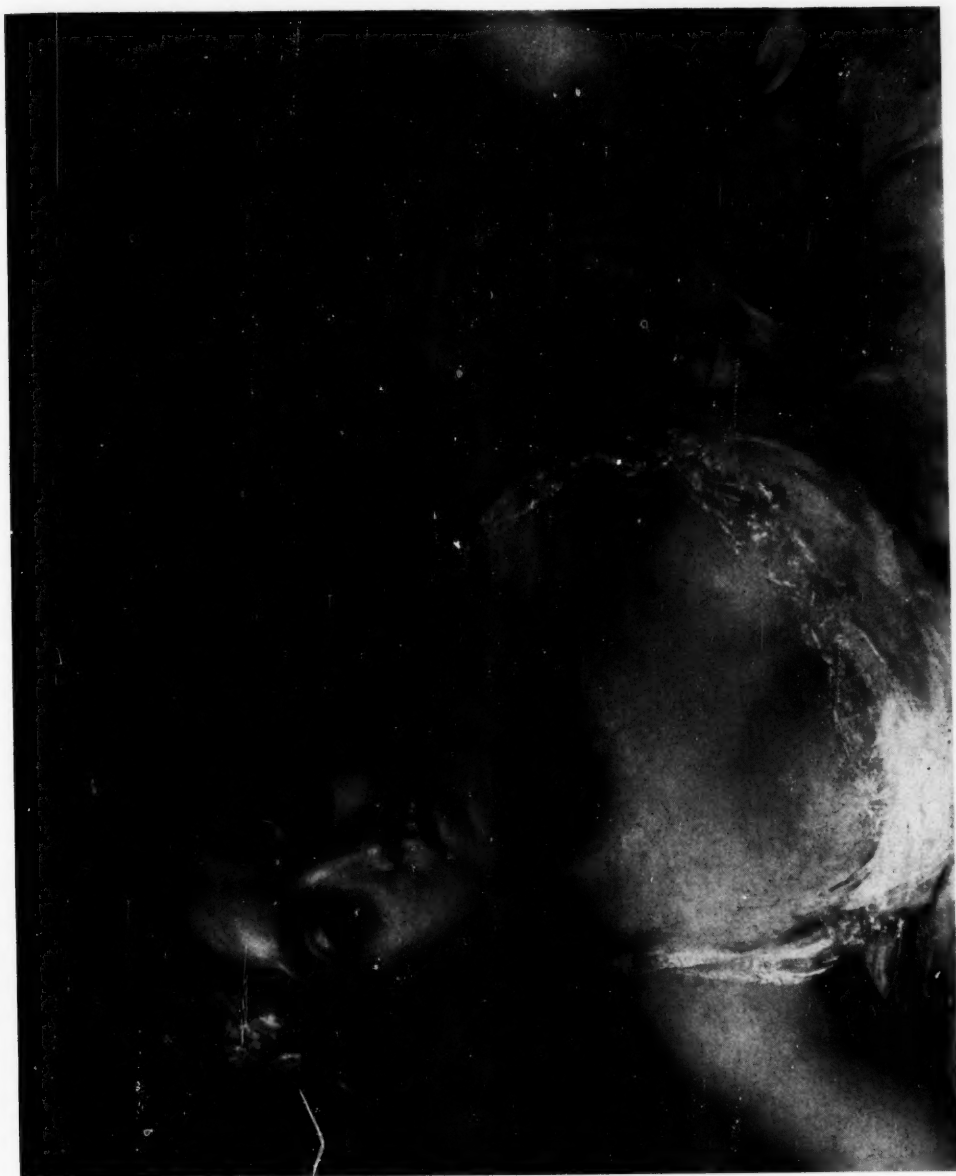


FIG. 7. *Detail, bust length*



FIG. 8. *Detail, torso*

about nine square inches at the extreme right edge of the picture on a line with the horizontal front edge of the couch. These were retouched at the time of cleaning a few years ago, and they are the only areas in the entire painting that fluoresce differently under ultra-violet light. Goya's signature, which appears on the lyre-box, is a part of the original paint structure, as verified by its survival under solvents used during the recent cleaning process, by visual examination under magnification, as well as by both ultra-violet and infra-red inspection. (Fig. 5.). As a sample of the artist's handwriting, done with a brush in oil paint, it is typical in style to signatures on innumerable of Goya's work. It is typical also in being placed rather inconspicuously, and small in size, but upon one of the most important objects, or key accoutrements, in the composition; in this case the lyre, as in other portraits it is found on a letter held in the hand of a statesman, on the scabbard of a general's sword, the plan for a building of an architect, the edge of a book of a scholar, or a sheet of music held up by a girl noted for her sweet voice.

What is the relationship between our version of the Marquesa's portrait and the Bilbao version? Although both pictures represent the same person in the same pose, there are striking differences which have already been discussed by Sánchez-Cantón in his article of 1952 (Fig. 2A and Fig. 2B). The position of the artist's eye, and therefore the eye of the observer of the picture, is higher in our version than in the other, thereby altering the basic concept of the composition. The proportions of such details as the lyre and the legs of the sitter are different. In our version the feet are bare whereas in the other they are covered by slippers. The Los Angeles portrait is more provocative in revealing more of the bosom and suggesting much more clearly the anatomy of the body beneath the dress. It does not include the bits of narrow black shawl, nor the stray curl of dark hair, both of which augment a more demure aspect in the Bilbao picture. The crown of grapes and leaves in the latter is much more detailed and

meticulous, as is the tighter handling of the shoulder straps. The face is prettier in the Bilbao portrait, while the Los Angeles version is frankly without any cosmetic attempt. The long sweeping curves in such places as the shoulder straps leading into the bosom line, the folds under the right hip, or the upright lower end of the couch are all emphasized in the Los Angeles portrait and somewhat straightened and stiffened in the other. There is no attempt to equate the smaller forms such as the position, shape and direction of the folds, for example, hanging over the forward side of the couch; and nowhere does the brushing on of highlights, where painterly performance shows most, indicate that either version is the result of a desire to exactly copy the other.<sup>11</sup>

In short, even though subject, pose, symbol and general composition is the same on both canvases, we have two independent creative expressions by the same artist done at different times. About his reasons for doing two we can only conjecture. There are at least twenty-nine pairs of pictures generally accepted by Goya, fifteen pairs of which are portraits, in which the subject and composition is repeated with roughly the same degree of variation between the pairs as we find in the two versions of the Marquesa. In addition, there are many examples of repeat portraits of the same sitter where the general conception and composition is similar, but where the raiment, accoutrements and colors are different, such as in the standing portraits of the Duchess of Alba, members of The Royal Family and the two Majas. In the case of Royal portraits, governmental officials and dignitaries of the church, there was still in Goya's time the traditional demand for replicas of the "official" portraits of such dignitaries to satisfy the demand for them in public offices and palaces, the capitals of provinces, etc., in addition to the homes of the sitters. Often there were purely personal reasons such as those revealed in still-extant letters where Queen María Luisa ordered replicas of portraits of herself from Goya so that she could keep one of each and still be able to give one to her minister and

intimate, Godoy. Perhaps, the Los Angeles portrait of the Marquesa was done for herself and her young husband, and the Bilbao portrait was done, with more modesty, as the "official" family portrait to hang in one of the palaces of her parents who had all the family painted by Goya. This conjecture would accord with Sánchez-Cantón's stylistic analysis, which resulted in his conclusion that our picture was painted a year or so earlier than the Bilbao version, dated 1805.

The surely-dated picture to which our portrait bears the closest comparison is the *Portrait of Doña María Tomasa Palafox y Portocarrero, Marquesa de Villafranca* in The Prado. The canvas is the same and is joined in the same way; the ground tone is the same and is used in the same way; the heavy impasto at the bodice and belt parallels the similar handling in the bodice and grape leaves of our picture; the smooth, velvety quality of the flesh, suffused with pearly color, is remarkably the same; the color of the wood and manner of its application to the chair in The Prado picture is exactly like the yellow and paint surface on The Marquesa's lyre; the deep-red cushions in each picture not only are equal in color and handling, they were obviously the same cushions; and the signature on the frame of the chair in the Madrid picture is the same in size and style, and it bears the same kind of relationship to the whole picture as the signature on the lyre. The *Portocarrero* portrait signature, however, includes the date, 1804, and this undoubtedly is the year our picture was painted.

Beruete named this the period of "... full power of the artist as portrait painter . . ."; and noted that the years from 1801 to 1808 "... are marked by a succession of portraits of ever-increasing interest."<sup>45</sup> All scholars, including Beruete, have pointed out that there really were *two* Goyas—The Goya of the con-

ventional, decorative, courtly, historically-minded eighteenth century, and the Goya of the revolutionary, materialistic and independent modern age. The expressive appeal of our picture flows from a confluence of these two powerful currents as they mingled in Goya about 1804, and they provide the underlying basis for the picture's two primary ranges of meaning. The aristocratic portrait is conceived within the framework of a highly respectable and intellectual tradition of Antiquity, but this conception is negated at all points by the startling immediacy and sensuousness of its realization. The warm, restricted color scheme attains a harmony that, in principle, satisfies the classicistic and academic proprieties, but the very *use* of only red, yellow, white, green and black to establish the composition endows it with a sense of independent daring and boldness. The larger shapes and forms in the picture maintain a generalized and sculptural simplicity consistent with the historical conception of the symbol, but the very *handling* of the material that creates these forms is personal, intimate, earthy. The disposition of the broad contours, with their constant repetition of the same long, gently-flowing curve motif, endows the formal composition with a fundamental sense of lyric, classic order, but this intellectual order embraces a woman who is powerfully convincing as real flesh and blood.

When all of these elements—historical, symbolic, technical and stylistic—are seen and felt at once, we may begin to approach the meaning of the picture to Goya and his subject. We may perceive even a meaning in the unorthodox combination of the fertile crown of Bacchic grapes and the more exalted symbol, the lyre. In its total aesthetic statement the picture does forge a secure link between sensual and spiritual beauty.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>*Portrait of the Marquesa de Santa Cruz*, oil on canvas, 49¾ x 81¾"; Allan C. Balch Endowment Fund Purchase; L.A.C.M. No. L.2100.A.13.58-108.
- <sup>2</sup>Yriarte, C., *Goya*, Paris, 1867; and Lafond, P., *Goya*, extraite de la "Revue ancien et moderne," Beranger, Paris, 1902, No. 207.
- <sup>3</sup>Beruete y Moret, A. de, *Goya As Portrait Painter*, (English translation by S. Brinton), Houghton-Mifflin, Boston, 1922, p. 121.
- <sup>4</sup>Mayer, A. L., *Francisco de Goya*, Dent, London, 1924, cat. No. 416 and p. 62.
- <sup>5</sup>Loga, Valerian von, *Francisco de Goya*, Grote, Berlin, 1921, cat. No. 329.
- <sup>6</sup>Terrasse, C., *Goya y Lucientes*, Floury, Paris, 1931, No. 52.
- <sup>7</sup>Fitz-Gerald, X. Desparmet, *L'oeuvre peint de Goya*, Nobelle, Paris, 1950, No. 441.
- <sup>8</sup>Sánchez-Cantón, F. J., *Un cuadro de Goya en el equipaje del Rey José*, in "Archivo Español de Arte," No. 87, 1952, p. 85 ff.
- <sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup>Wellington, Evelyn, *A Descriptive And Historical Catalogue of The Collection of Pictures And Sculpture At Apsley House, London*, 2 vols., Longmans-Green, London, 1901, Introd.
- <sup>11</sup>Madrazo, P., *Viaje Artístico*, Barcelona, 1884, p. 304.
- <sup>12</sup>Wellington, E., op. cit., Introd.
- <sup>13</sup>Wellington, A. W., *The Private Correspondence of The First Duke of Wellington*, ed. by The D. W., The Roxburghe Club, Dropmore, London, 1952, p. 163. On Oct. 31, 1831, William Seguiet wrote a letter to David Wilkie, here quoted, that indicates his official position as art advisor to The Duke.
- <sup>14</sup>Fitchett, W. H., "A Curious Chapter In Wellington's Life" in *The Cornhill Magazine*, January, 1916, p. 48.
- <sup>15</sup>*The Wellington Despatches*, ed. J. Gurwood, J. Murray, London, 1834-39, 12 vols., Vols. IV and XI.
- <sup>16</sup>Waagen, G. F., "Treasures of Art In Great Britain," 3 vols., Murray, London, 1854.
- <sup>17</sup>Waagen, G. F., "Galleries And Cabinets of Art In Great Britain," Murray, London, 1857.
- <sup>18</sup>Stirling-Maxwell, Sir Wm., "Annals of The Artists of Spain," Nimmo, London, 1891.
- <sup>19</sup>Wellington, A. W., "The Private Correspondence," op. cit., p. 193.
- <sup>20</sup>"Diario de Madrid," Sept. 1, 1812.
- <sup>21</sup>Mariscal, Nicasio, "Goya y Lord Wellington," in *Seminario de Arte Aragonés*, Vol. 4, Zaragoza, 1952, p. 98.  
also, c.f. Mayer, A. L., op. cit., p. 19, and Beruete y Moret, A. de, op. cit., p. 146.
- <sup>22</sup>Wellington, E., op. cit., p. xv.
- <sup>23</sup>Wellington, A. W., "Private Corresp.," op. cit., p. xi; The records concerning the Duke of Wellington's life are voluminous, and they are kept, indexed and chronologically arranged, in the Private Secretary's room at Apsley House. The most interesting of these have been published, but they deal only with the Duke's public life. The others, of a private or social nature, are kept in the Munitment, or Strong Room, under the garden at Apsley House. These were roughly arranged about fifty years ago, but they have probably not been read since the First Duke's time.
- <sup>24</sup>Wellington, E., op. cit., p. xv.
- <sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xii.
- <sup>26</sup>Museo del Prado Catalog No. 739.
- <sup>27</sup>Holland, Elizabeth Lady, *The Spanish Journals of*, ed. by the Earl of Ilchester, Longmans, London, 1910, p. 195.
- <sup>28</sup>Esquerria del Bayo, Joaquín, "Retratos de la Familia Tellez-Girón," Blass, Madrid, 1934, p. 7.
- <sup>29</sup>Holland, Elizabeth Lady, op. cit., p. 263.
- <sup>30</sup>Sánchez-Cantón, F. J., op. cit., p. 85.
- <sup>31</sup>Esquerria del Bayo, J., op. cit., p. 35.
- <sup>32</sup>Mayer, A. L., op. cit., p. 62.
- <sup>33</sup>Beruete y Moret, op. cit., p. 122.
- <sup>34</sup>Esquerria del Bayo, op. cit., p. 35.
- <sup>35</sup>Mayer, A. L., op. cit., p. 62.
- <sup>36</sup>cf. Aristotle, "Politics," VIII, 3.; Ripa, Cesare, "Iconologia," Tozzi, Padua, 1618, p. 359; Seyffert, Oskar, "Dict. of Classical Antiquities," Meridian, New York, 1957, p. 405; Fox, W. S., "Mythology of All Races," Vol. I, "Greek & Roman," Boston, 1916, p. 240.
- <sup>37</sup>Ripa, C., op. cit., p. 357 ff.  
Also cf. Cumont, Franz, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains*, Geuther, Paris, 1942, Chapt. IV. The admirable discussion here, and illustration, of innumerable sarcophagii and other monuments where the Muses are related to Bacchic subjects has a bearing on the possible interpretation of our portrait. In addition, the material presented by Cumont makes it fairly clear that Goya must have been influenced, at least in a

general way, in the selection of the Marquesa's pose by the so-called "banqueting" pose of so many of the principal figures in antique funerary sculpture. Extensive references to ancient literature and figurative art conclusively demonstrate that the reason for closely relating a reclining mortal with the symbols of wine and the Muses was the prevalent belief among the ancients that intoxication was one of the most important steps that man could take to inspire himself to pass from the purely physical existence into a higher, poetic and even spiritual realm.

That such symbolic considerations were not beyond the family to which the Marquesa belonged is indicated in the written record by Schubart of a visit to the palace of the elder Marquesa de Santa Cruz, our subject's mother-in-law, (née Mariana Waldstein): "She conducted us into an enchanting garden alongside her beautiful palace in Madrid. There was an elegant summer house, the likes of which nobody had ever seen. We admired her exquisite taste and showered her with flattery. Finally, she showed us a doorway covered with roses and myrtle (sacred to Venus, Goddess of Love), saying with a naughty smile 'This is my favorite place in this garden, for here every night I receive my lover when my husband is at Court'" (cf. Soler, B., Pascual, P., Petinto, P., *La Duquesa de Alba y su Tiempo*, E.P.E.S.A., Madrid, 1949, p. 55).

Further to the relating of the Bacchic symbol with love, one is reminded of the humorous Roman proverb: "Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus." ("Without Bacchus and Ceres Venus freezes up.") Pictorial representations of this saying were made in the later Renaissance by Janssens, Goltzius and il Rosso. (cf. Tervarent, Guy de, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600*, "Dict. d'un language perdu," Geneva, Droz, 1958, I., p. 131).

<sup>38</sup>Harrison, J., *Prolegomena to The Study of Greek Religion*, New York, Meridian, 1955, p. 449.

<sup>39</sup>Sánchez-Cantón, F. J., "Cómo Vivió Goya," in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Mr. 74, April-June, 1946, p. 81, where Goya's inventory is given in its entirety.

<sup>40</sup>The relationship of bees and honey to Venus and to Bacchus has its own involved classical iconography; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894-1937, Vol. V, "Biene"; also Ovid's *Fasti*, III.

<sup>41</sup>Because of many factors, such as climatic differences, re-stretching, effects of conservation methods, plus variations in size at the original time of cutting and stretching, there are sometimes differences of an inch or two, or more, in present day measurements of canvases that were originally produced to satisfy requests for the same size, cf. Desparmet-Fitz-Gerald op. cit., Vol. I, p. 59.

<sup>42</sup>Jacobson, Granville, Foss, *Color Harmony Manual*, Container Corp. of America, Chicago, 1948.

<sup>43</sup>Even when making color comparisons with specified and constant samples, one must bear in mind that, in the paintings, there are factors like discolored varnish, bloom, disintegration of color, texture disturbances resulting from condition, etc., that alter color appearance.

<sup>44</sup>One critic, Jose López-Rey, without giving evidence of a careful study of either version of the Marquesa's portrait, and using his own eye solely to form his judgment, has assumed that our version, unknown for so long, is a copy of the Bilbao version by another hand. (cf. López-Rey, J., *Goya and His Pupil Maria del Rosario Weiss*, in "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," Wildenstein & Co., Paris & New York, VI, tome XLVII, 1956, p. 251.) The article in which this opinion is expressed intrusively at the very end, although dated 1956 according to the volume of the Wildenstein & Co. periodical in which it was printed, did not appear until 1958 because of arrears in the publication schedule. Strangely, it appeared in the magazine, and in a specially distributed reprint, precisely at the time the portrait was being purchased. The author accepts the early nineteenth century origin of the picture, and he himself automatically rules out as possible imitator the subject of his article, Maria del Rosario Weiss. He further states that its execution "... is unlike that of any of his (Goya's) known followers or imitators." The only contemporary painter who was able to approach Goya's portrait style fairly well was Agustín Esteve; and the leading authority on that artist, Dr. Martín Soría, after careful study, has asserted that our picture "... is much too good to be by Esteve. It is a superb Goya." López-Rey says that the possibility "should not be excluded" that our picture was done by a French artist in Spain during the first years of the nineteenth century, because it is well known that both the Marquesa and her mother (as well as people like Lady Holland, already mentioned) had work done by them. Ezquerria del Bayo, already mentioned numerous times in this present article, made an exhaustive study of these French portraitists. There were none who did work in the scale, style, or with the materials and technique found in our picture. López-Rey's hypothesis, therefore, presupposes that the Marquesa de Santa Cruz, while Goya was in Madrid, called in some obscure and unidentified French artist to falsify her portrait by the great man who practically monopolized work for her family; that this unknown then took liberties with the composition and forged Goya's signature; that this man had such unique talents that he could even create convincing pentimenti; and that during what must have been a short and anonymous sojourn in Madrid he had gained such profound knowledge of Goya's technique as to confound all his contemporaries, King Joseph, the late Duke of Alba, not to mention Sánchez-Cantón, technical consultants at The Prado and other Goya scholars of our time.

<sup>45</sup>Beruet, op. cit., p. 117.



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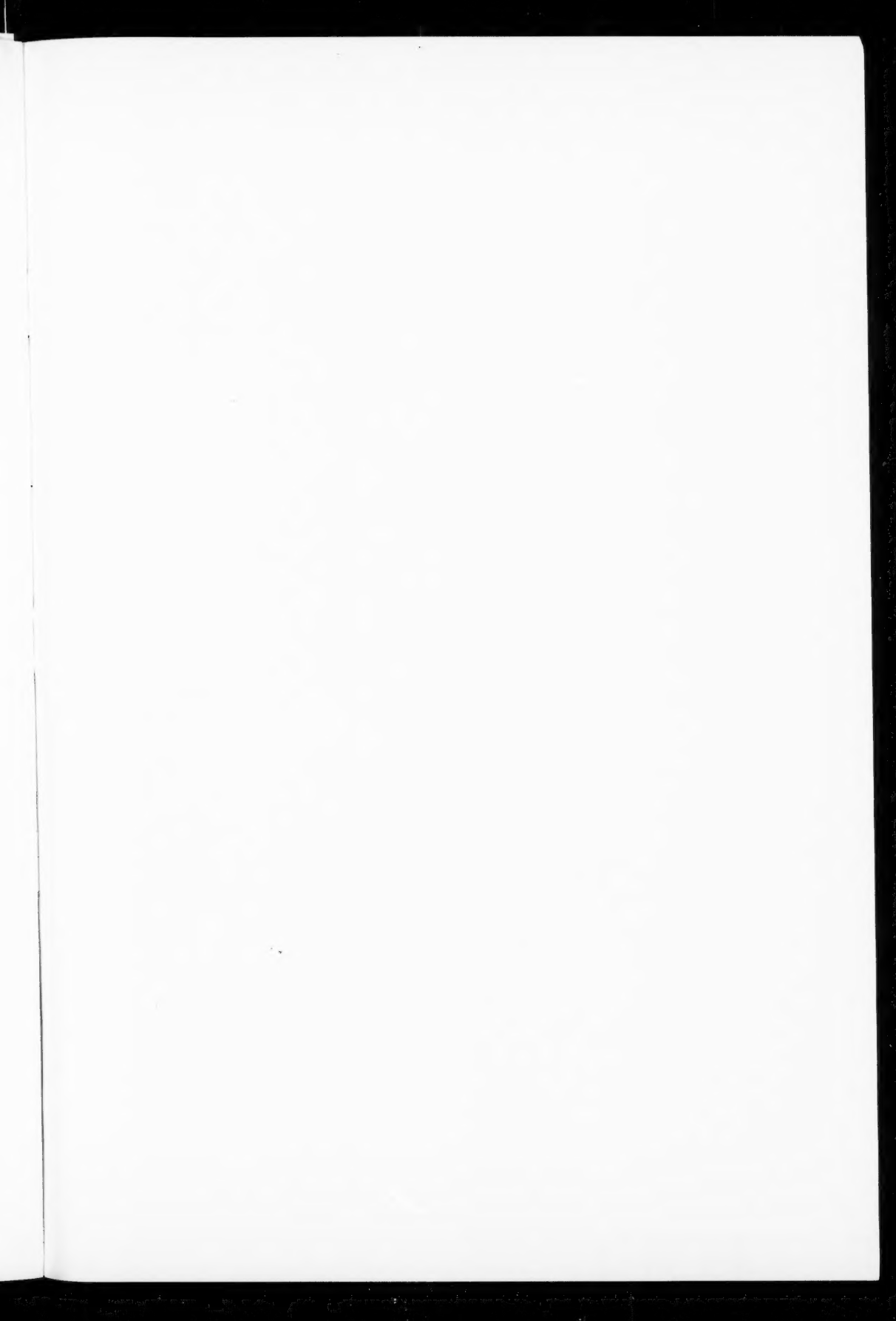


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